Critical Discourse Analysis of Reporting on "*Saweran* for KPK Building" in Media Indonesia Daily Newspaper

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Abstract

This research entitles "Critical Discourse Analysis of Reporting on "*Saweran* for KPK Building" in Media Indonesia Daily Newspaper". The method used in this research is

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descriptive method with three-dimensional models of critical discourse analysis approach by Norman Fairclough. The purposes of this study are (1) to describe the aspects of language used to represent characters and news topics, (2) to describe the relationship between the ideology of Media Indonesia Daily Newspaper and the aspects of language produced, and (3) to describe the situations of social, political, and cultural underlying aspects of language used. The results show that aspects of language diction, sentence usage, and source selection used in direct quotations in Media Indonesia have placed figures or institutions particularly the House of Representatives (DPR) in the negative representation. It is closely related to the ideology of nationalism espoused by the Media Indonesian institution which supports anti-corruption movement by the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK). Nonetheless, the representation not only relates to the ideology espoused but also associates with the political interests of Media Indonesia leader who becomes the founder of the National Democratic Party (Nasdem) in conducting a positive image of the party he leads.

Keywords: Representation, Critical Discourse Analysis, Media, Politics

1. Introduction

1.1 Rationale

Language is a medium for human to communicate. Through language, human can express ideas, thoughts, and feelings. The current definition of the language, however, has been developed in accordance with the function not as a means of communicating only. Currently, the language has become the intermediary in the implementation of the power of ideology. Moreover, the language also contributes to the domination of others by others (Fairclough, 1989:2).

In line with the statement above, Halliday (1978:2) also confirms that actually language not only consists of sentences, but also a text or discourse in which the exchange of intentions in interpersonal context between one another is existing. The context of exchange does not mean devoid of social value, but is strongly influenced by the socio-cultural context of the society.

The development of the role and definition of the language has brought an enormous influence on the study of language (linguistics). Linguistics is no longer engaged in the study of structure or grammar, but it has evolved into inter-disciplinary studies with other fields, such as sociolinguistics, pragmatics, discourse analysis, neurolinguistics, and psycholinguistics. The inter-disciplinary studies indicate that language indeed plays a major role in all areas of public life.

One of the areas that makes use of language related to the implementation of the power of ideology as described above is the media. Most forms of media production are realized into the language. Therefore, the relationship between language and the media is two things that cannot be separated. Richardson (2007: 6) states that *"the language used in newspaper is one key site in naturalization of inequality and neutralization of dissert"*.

The use of language that is currently dominating the media is the one in political discourse. Political discourse is generated by the media as the very dynamic political situation in Indonesia. One of the current political news in the spotlight and media publications is reporting on *Saweran* for building of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK). Reporting on *Saweran* for the KPK building becomes attractive because it involves various institutions in the polemics, especially between the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) and the Parliament (House of Representatives).

Saweran case to the KPK building begins with the submission of the funds to the Parliament by the Commission for the construction of the new building as the currently occupied building is considered to be infeasible. The Commission III of Parliament, however, does not approve the budget proposal of the new building construction because the Commission III of Parliament thought that the building is still worth so that the new building is not required.

The case is becoming increasingly attractive as it gets publicity from the mass media in Indonesia, both print and electronic. The news in the end, both directly and indirectly, brings great influence to the community in that case the community is involved in the *Saweran* of

KPK building. Different and various walks of life, ranging from traders, pedicab drivers, to minister do donations 'Saweran' for the KPK building.

One of the active mass media coverage on the discourse of the KPK building *Saweran* is Media Indonesia Group. The news is propagated either through the print media, the Media Indonesia Daily (MI) or through electronic media, namely http://www.mediaindonesia.com. The extent of the news media is also predicted to bring a wider impact on the consumption of the discourse.

This case is not a recent one occurred between the Commission and state institutions especially the House of Representatives. Nonetheless, this case has significant historical value in the relationship between the Commission and the Parliament because after this case, other cases appear on the relations between the two state institutions. Thus, the case is considered as the trigger of subsequent cases so the case is important to analyze and critically assess.

1.2 Problem Identification

Based on the rationale mentioned above, some problem identifications can be formulated as follows, (1) What are the aspects of language used by Media Indonesia to represent the theme and figure in the reporting on "*Saweran* for the KPK Building"? (2) What is the relationship between ideology of Media Indonesia and aspects of language resulted in representing the state institutions in the reporting on "*Saweran* for the KPK Building"? (3) What are the situations of social, politics, and culture that background the language aspects used to represent the state institutions in the reporting on "*Saweran* for KPK Building" in Media Indonesia?

1.3 Research Usability

This research is expected to contribute theoretically and pragmatically. Theoretically, it is expected to enrich and expand the research theme in the field of language, especially critical discourse analysis. Through discourse analysis it is also expected that researches on language can be more applicable and friendly to social situations and events that occur in the community so that it can be a solution of the existing problems. Pragmatically, this research is expected to provide a critical awareness of the media institutions and media readers to be more aware of all forms of news delivered through a language by the media.

1.4 Theory framework

Alwasilah (2002:120) reveals that the theory is used to build models or maps that depict the world (data) as it is. Through theory, the world or phenomena can be simplified, and the simplification is to clarify or explain how the phenomenon works. In addition, the theory is also a guide in providing a better understanding of the objects examined in a study (Sudaryanto, 1998: 6). The theory used in this study is Critical Discourse by Norman Fairclough (1992b, 1995a; 1998; 2000), Eriyanto (2006), Titscher (2009), Jorgensen (2007), and Richardson (2007). These theories are used as in tune with the issues that will be analyzed in the research that carries this field of critical discourse analysis.

1.5 Research Methods

Methodology is a way to gain "knowledge" and "understanding" of the object that we examine. It can be found at three levels, namely (1) the paradigm used (2) the method chosen, and (3) the techniques used (Hoed, 2011: 7). Meanwhile, the method is the way should be done, the technique is a way of carrying out the method and as the way, the technique success is determined by the used tool. The method used in this research is descriptive qualitative one, a method that aims to provide a systematic description about the data, properties, and relationships of studied phenomena (Djajasudarma, 2006: 9).

1.6 Sources of Data

The data used in this study are news and features on "*Saweran* for KPK Building " only on the Media Indonesia Daily print or electronic published at the time 26th June to 10th July 2012. The news in the printed media chosen as the written text is considered more established than the electronic one which still requires transliteration techniques prior to analysis. The overall data related to the theme are 24 data. Nonetheless, the number of data selected for analysis in this study is only 17 data. They are chosen because only this data considered containing representations to be analyzed critically.

1.7 Critical Discourse Analysis by Norman Fairclough

Critical Discourse Analysis is an attempt to process (decomposition) to give an explanation of a text (social reality) of a dominant person or group who tend to certain goals and to achieve the desired goal. This means that in a context, the importance must be aware. (Darma, 2009: 49).

Theoretical framework used in this study is a discourse analysis approach by Norman Fairclough (1992b, 1995a; 1998; 2000), known as three-dimensional analysis of discourse. They involve three levels of analysis: (1) a text or textual analysis (micro), the description of the text, (2) analysis of discourse or discourse practice (meso), the interpretation of the relationship between discourse and text production process, (3) socio-cultural analysis or socio-cultural practice (macro), the explanation of relations between discourse processes with social processes (Fairclough, 1992a: 73; 1995a: 59; Idris, 2006: 75).
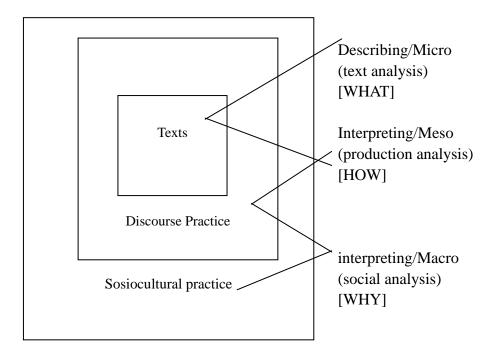
Figure 1. Analysis Framework of Three-Dimension Discourse by Fairclough

Source : Fairclough (1992a: 73; 1995a: 59; 2000: 313)

The first dimension, the Fairclough's micro-framework of critical discourse analysis, is the text analysis dimension. Dimensional analysis of the text covers traditional forms of linguistic analysis and semantic vocabulary, grammatical sentences and smaller units, and the sound system (phonology) and the writing system. Fairclough symbolizes them as 'linguistic analysis', even though it uses the term in an expanded view (Fairclough, 1995a: 57; 2000: 311).

The second dimension in the Fairclough's framework of critical discourse analysis is the dimension of discourse (discourse practice). In this dimension analysis, interpretation done on discourse processing which includes aspects of production, deployment, and the use of text. Some of these aspects have more institutional character, while others are the processes of usage and deployment of discourse. Regarding to institutional processes, Fairclough refers to institution routine like editor procedures involved in the production of media texts.

The third dimension is the analysis of socio-cultural practice of Fairclough's critical discourse analysis of the media which is a macro-level analysis based on the notion that social contexts outside the media actually affect on how the existing discourse in the media. Newsroom or journalist is not a field or a sterile space, but also determined by factors outside the media itself.

Fairclough (1992a: 67) states that social practices have different orientations, such as economic, political, social, cultural, ideological, and so on, and discourse is a picture of all these problems. Thus, analysis of the social practice dimensions refers to the attempt to

explain the related issues above, as related to values, beliefs, ideology, philosophy, culture, etc. contained in the discourse (Idris, 2006: 81).

The use of language aspects in the study refers to the text analysis or defined as a form of language aspects, from the aspects of morphological, syntactic, and in the context of the case of reporting on *Saweran* for KPK building. In other words, linguistic expressions can also be defined as an effort to use the tools of language expressed or used in such cases on the news.

While the term representation in this study refers to how a person, group, idea, or any opinion appear in the news. The representations or misrepresentations are linguistic events. How someone is shown can occur with the first use of the language. Through language, various acts of representation is displayed by the media and presented in the news. Therefore, the use of language needs to be scrutinized in the news carried by the media. (Eriyanto 2006: 116).

2. Conclusions

2.1 Micro Analysis The reporting on "Saweran for KPK Building"

Of various linguistic tools used by Media Indonesia in the reporting on "*Saweran* for KPK Building ", there are three tools that mark representations of themes and characters involved in the article above, namely through diction, the use of causative widespread sentence, and the selection of sources in a direct quote. The use of diction "*Saweran*" action which is more dominating than the diction "donations" have noticed that Media Indonesia put fundraising action for KPK building as a "mass movement" occurred in Indonesia. Meanwhile, the using of causative widespread sentence construction n has placed the House of Representatives in negative representations due to being positioned as the cause of the movement. Similarly, the selection of speakers on the direct quote, Media Indonesia dominantly chooses the opinion in favor of the parties to KPK rather than to the House of Representatives. This puts KPK in the positive representation and Parliament on the negative one. Below is the analysis of aspects of language.

1) *Aksi Saweran* gedung KPK yang dimulai 27 Juni lalu, hingga saat ini mencapai sekitar Rp 200 juta. (*MI*, 9 Juli 2012).

2) *Ide menggalang dana publik* tercetus karena Komisi III DPR belum menyetujui anggaran pembangunan gedung baru KPK meski telah diminta sejak 2008. (*MI*, 27 Juni 2012).

3) *Sumbangan masyarakat* ke Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi untuk pembangunan gedung baru terus mengalir. (*MI*, 21 Juni 2012).

4) *Penggalangan dana* untuk membangun gedung Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi (KPK) juga berlangsung di Kota Solo, Jawa Tengah. (*MI*, 23 Juni 2012).

Examples of data (1) - (4) indicate that for cases in the same context, the Media Indonesia chooses manifold diction, namely Saweran action, the idea of public fundraising, community donations, and fundraising. The four dictions have different semantic meaning as well. Based on lexical semantics, the meaning of public donations which means 'gift as help from the public' has more neutral meaning than the Saweran action and raising which mean 'movement

to raise funds from the public'.

5) *Gara-gara* DPR *menolak* rencana pembangunan gedung baru Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi (KPK), pimpinan KPK sudah sepakat untuk ikut *Saweran* untuk rencana pembangunan gedung KPK. (*MI*, 29 Juni 2012).

6) Ide menggalang dana publik tercetus *karena* Komisi II DPR belum *menyetujui* anggaran pembangunan gedung bari KPK meski telah diminta sejak 2008. (*MI*, 27 Juni 2012).

7) Komisi III DPR *bersikukuh* keberatan untuk mengabulkan permohonan anggaran untuk pembangunan gedung baru Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi (KPK). DPR masih mendorong kepada KPK untuk memakai gedung pemerintah yang kosong.

Meanwhile, the data (5), (6) and (7) are examples of data which use linguistic strategies in the form of sentence. Broad sentence on the data (5) above has a causal relationship marked by conjunction *gara-gara* as the beginning of the sentence because the dependent clause precedes the main clause. Meanwhile, the data (6) has a cause-effect relationship marked by conjunction *karena* after the main clause. Strategy that always compares KPK and the Parliament in such causal sentence construction puts the Parliament as the cause and the KPK as victims which is aggrieved over the polemic.

In addition to the structural or grammatical aspects of language, the one that is not less interesting is the way of the Media Indonesia voiced his inspiration through direct quotation of some important figures. Based on the existing data, from the direct quote can be seen that the Media Indonesia is calling them who support the KPK more than supporting the Parliament. Below are some examples of the data available for direct quotes in the reporting.

(8) "Maksud dan tujuan JCW membuka posko ini adalah sebagai bentuk keprihatinan JCW karena gedung KPK harus segera diadakan."1.4.7 (JCW- Ketua Jogja Corruption Watch).

(9) "Saya dengan senang hati menyumbang gaji saya selama enam bulan untuk pembangunan gedung KPK," ujar Dahlan Iskan. 2.3.5 (Dahlan Iskan-Menteri Badan Usaha Milik Negara)

(10) "Kalau KPK membutuhkan kita harus dukung," kata Prabowo saat ditemui usai menghadiri Sarasehan Kebangsaan.4.2.3 (Prabowo-Partai Gerindra)

(11) "Saya dukung pembangunan gedung KPK"6.6.9 (Effendi Choirie- Anggota Komisi I DPR PKB).

(12) "Sebagai orang awam, aku hanya ingin Indonesia tanpa korupsi."6.10.10 (Charlie Van Houten- Mantan Vokalis ST 12)

(13) "Kami hanya ingin membantu KPK. Ini bukan kehendak KPK, tapi kehendak rakyat. Buruh sangat geram kepada DPR RI yang tidak menyetujui anggaran untuk pembangunan gedung baru KPK."7.4.5 (Soeharno – Ketua PBSI)

(14) "Jadi silakan saja jika publik, termasuk PKL (pedagang kaki lima), ingin menyumbang pembangunan gedung KPK."8.6.7 (Mahfud MD - Ketua MK)

(15) "Saya terharu mendengar KPK mau membuat gedung baru tapi anggarannya masih terkendala di DPR."10.3.5 (Darjo-Warga)

(16) "Itu membuktikan dukungan besar masyarakat kepada KPK yang selama ini dinilai paling berhasil mengungkap kasus korupsi."11.3.3 (Taufikurahman Syauri-Anggota Komisi Yudisial)

(17) "Ini jangan dibiarkan, jelas-jelas melanggar undang-undang (UU) dan kalau dibiarkan, nanti juga aparat atau pejabat akan melakukan hal yang sama. Kenapa pihak kepolisian membiarkan hal tersebut."12.2.3 (Indra Sahnun Lubis – Ketua Presiden Kongres Advokat Indonesia (KAI)

(18) "Kami melihat KPK itu dari dulu sudah banyak memberantas korupsi. Pandangan kami, KPK perlu gedung untuk meningkatkan kinerja. Tapi kan tidak diberi oleh DPR."13.4.4 Rizky-Ketua Ikatan Mahasiswa Muhamadiah

(19) "Kami hanya memberi catatan kecil, coba usahakan gedung-gedung yang sudah ada," papar anggota Komisi III DPR dari F-PPP Ahmad Yani di Komplek Kepatihan Kantor Gubernur DI Yogyakarta."14.2.3 Ahmad Yani –Anggota Komisi III.

From the examples above it can be seen that the Media Indonesian prefers to choose figures who give more support to KPK, the Chairman of Jogja Corruption Watch, Dahlan Iskan (Minister for State Owned Enterprises), Jumakir (pedicab driver), Prabowo (Board of Trustees Gerindra), Effendi Choirie (Member of Parliament from PKB), Charly Van Houten (Former Vocalist of ST 12), Suharno (Chairman of SBSI), Mahfud MD (Chief of Constitution Court), Darjo (citizen), Taufiqurrohman (Judicial Commissioner), and Rizky (Muhammadiyah Students Association). Meanwhile, the figures in favor of the House of Representatives are only Indra Syahnun Lubis (President of the Congress of Indonesian Advocates (KAI) and Ahmad Yani (Member of Commission III).

The discourse contents delivered through direct quotation also explicitly support to KPK rather than to the House of Representatives (DPR) as the following quote. "I would gladly donate my salary for six months for the KPK building," said Dahlan Iskan. (2.3.5) "We see that KPK has done a lot to combat the corruption. In our opinion, KPK needs building to improve their performance. It is, however, not given by the House of Representatives "(13.4.4). "We just want to help the KPK. This is not the will of KPK, but the will of the people. Labor was furious to the House of Representatives who did not approve the budget for the construction of a new KPK building. "(7.4.5).

2.2 Meso Analysis of reporting on "Saweran for the KPK Building"

Media Indonesian was firstly published on January 19th, 1970 as a newspaper with national coverage that can be obtained in 33 provinces spread over 429 districts / municipalities in Indonesia. President Director of Media Indonesia is Surya Paloh and Teuku Yousli Shah as the Chief Editor.

Based on the results of a survey released by Mark Plus Insight, Media Indonesia is put on the 3rd biggest (12:22%) as newspaper read by executives to access economic and business news. Readership Profile of Media Indonesia is: 63% of men and 37% women, 20-49 years of productive age (87%), Social Economic Status A1-A2-B Class (76%), Major White collars work (44%), Psychographic of Media Indonesian readers are westerns minded, optimist and well settled. (Source: Media Indonesia Online)

Vision carried by Media Indonesia is becoming an independent newspaper which is innovative, simple, reliable and the most influential. Independent means to maintain non-party in which its employees are not political party officials, to refuse any forms of giving that could affect the objectivity, and to have the courage to be different. Innovative means continually refine and develop human resources, as well as continuously develop rubrics, pages, and layouts. Simple means always to check and re-check, to cover stories from the two sides and balanced, and always conduct investigations and deepening. Influential means the Media Indonesia is able to become a media read by decision makers, it has editorial that can affect the quality of decision making, it is able to build anticipatory skills and build a resources network and has a reliable marketing / distribution.

Based on the explanation above, it can be seen that as the third-largest media, Media Indonesia is a daily newspaper which is able to influence public opinion of the Indonesian people widely. The series production of texts in Media Indonesia is not a stand-alone series, but an institutional series involving journalists, editors, even the owners of capital, etc. Realization of the text produced by Media Indonesia, especially in the reporting on *Saweran* for KPK Building is also assessed in line with the vision carried, innovative, simple, reliable and most influential, though it contains negative imagery towards particular party.

2.3 Macro Analysis of reporting on "Saweran for KPK Building"

Social and political situation that occurs during the reporting on "*Saweran* for KPK Building " also cannot be separated from the contexts which build the news. It can be known together that during 2011-2012 a number of open conflicts between the Commission and the Parliament, ranging from cases related to the Parliament Budget Committee, about the KPK law, until the news on *Saweran* for KPK Building were indicated. The whole events were broadcasted extensively by various media that exist in Indonesia including Media Indonesia.

In addition to the explanation above, the political situation in relation to this news is that when the reporting takes place, the political situation of Indonesia is being warmed up before the General Election of 2014 in which the Director of Media Indonesia, Surya Paloh, is also the party's founder and Chairman of the National Democratic Party (Nasdem) which was established in July 26th , 2011. This party is the only new party qualified to participate in the 2014 election. By carrying out the motto of Change Movement, the party has always voiced changes for better Indonesia and free from corruption, poverty, and disintegration.

Although indirectly related, it could be concluded that the publicity generated by Media Indonesia is closely related to Surya Paloh as the Managing Director of Media Indonesia and Chairman of the National Democratic Party. There is a certain agenda through negative

imagery in the reporting between the KPK and the Parliament. As the Parliament is now occupied by members of the previous political parties, the public opinion is led to give a negative imagery to the members of the House of Representatives as well as the existing parties. Thus, we need a movement for change through new party promoted by Surya Paloh which indirectly gives a positive imagery for the party he leads.

3. Conclusion

The results showed that the aspects of language diction, sentence usage, and informants used in the direct quotations in Media Indonesia have put the theme in the news as a social movement, in addition the aspects of language have also put figures or institutions particularly the House of Representatives (DPR) into the negative representation. It is closely related to the ideology of nationalism espoused by the Media Indonesia institution which supports anti-corruption movement by the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK). Nonetheless, the representation not only relates to the ideology espoused, but also associated with the political interests of the leader of Media Indonesia institutions who became the founder of the National Democratic Party (Nasdem) in conducting a positive image of the party he leads.

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